

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 09878 01 OF 02 091512Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9640
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 9878

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SOPN, SP, UR, XT
SUBJECT: SOVIETS MAINTAIN THEIR STAND IN EUROCOMMUNISM DEBATE

REF: (A) MOSCOW 9710, (B) MOSCOW 9790

SUMMARY: THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF NOVOYE VREMYA MADE CLEAR
PRIVATELY THAT THE SOVIETS STILL STICK BY THEIR ATTACK ON
CARRILLO AND THAT EUROCOMMUNISM REMAINS A CONCERN OF THE
SOVIETS. MEANWHILE, THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL SIGNS IN THE
SOVIET PRESS IN RECENT DAYS INDICATING THAT THE SOVIETS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 09878 01 OF 02 091512Z

ARE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING TO ASSERT THEIR POINT OF VIEW,
BUT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO CALM DOWN THE PUBLIC FUROR
OVER THE EUROCOMMUNIST ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. JAPANESE EMBOFFS GAVE US SUMMARY OF THEIR CONVERSA-
TION JUNE 30 WITH NOVOYE VREMYA'S (NV) EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
M. FEDOROV IN WHICH THE LATTER EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED

THE NV ATTACK. HE CLAIMED THAT THE PIECE WAS PROMPTED BY SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT EUROCOMMUNISM WHICH WAS THE "MAIN POINT" OF THE ARTICLE. HE ALSO ARGUED THAT THE SOVIETS COULD NOT REMAIN SILENT IN THE FACE OF ATTEMPTS TO "SPLIT" THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND "FORGET" PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ARTICLE ITSELF WAS AIMED ONLY AT CARILLO AND HIS FOLLOWERS, NOT AT THE PCE OR ANY OTHER PARTY.

2. FEDOROV ALSO STATED THAT THE ARTICLE HAD RECEIVED THE APPROVAL IN MANUSCRIPT FORM OF THE "OTHER ORGANIZATION" (APPARENTLY MEANING THE CPSU) AND THAT ALTHOUGH IT REPRESENTS ONLY THE OPINION OF NV, HE KNOWS THAT IT CORRESPONDS TO THE OPINION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU. (COMMENT: FEDOROV'S REMARKS TENDS TO SUPPORT A REPORT EMBOFF RECEIVED FROM AMERICAN SOVIETOLOGIST ROBERT TUCKER JUNE 29 THAT SOVIETS IN WHOM TURKER HAS CONFIDENCE TOLD HIM THE NV ATTACK WAS SUSLOV'S WORK. END COMMENT.) FEDOROV SAID APPROVAL TO PUBLISH WAS GIVEN WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE THAT THERE WOULD BE AN OUTBURST FROM OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES. HE, HOWEVER, NOTED THAT THE REACTIONS OF THE OTHER PARTIES WERE DIFFERENT, GENERALLY Milder, AND NOT "ANTI-SOVIET" AS WAS THE PCE REPLY. IN A CLOSING COMMENT, FEDOROV TOLD THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 09878 01 OF 02 091512Z

JAPANESE THERE WOULD BE MORE ARTICLES ON THE DISPUTE APPEARING IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. FEDOROV'S PREDICTION HAS BEEN BORNE OUT. THE SOVIETS ARE STILL PUSHING THEIR ARGUMENTS, BUT THE TONE OF THE OTHER ARTICLES SUGGESTS THEY WISH TO CALM DOWN THE PUBLIC FUROR OVER EUROCOMMUNISM. ON JULY 2 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY V. ZAGLADIN WROTE A LONG ANNIVERSARY ARTICLE IN PRAVDA ONE YEAR AFTER THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES (ITS APPEARANCE WAS TWO DAYS LATE, WHICH COULD MEAN THAT IT WAS HELD BACK UNTIL THE SOVIETS HAD HEARD FROM THE PCI DELEGATION (REFTELS) VISITING MOSCOW). WHILE INSISTING ON THE SOVIET POINTS ABOUT "INTERNATIONALIST COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY," AND THE NEED TO AVOID AN "ANTI-SOVIET LINE," IT WAS CALM AND NON-POLEMICAL. (YUGOSLAV AMB SMOLE TOLD AMB THAT HE BELIEVES HARD SUSLOV-ZIMYANIN LINE MODERATED BY BREZHNEV AFTER PCI VISIT.)

4. LIKEWISE, THE COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED JULY 3, FOLLOWING THE PCI DELEGATION VISIT, WAS DEVOID OF

CONTENTIOUS ELEMENTS, ALTHOUGH IT DESCRIBED THE MEETINGS AS "FRANK AND CORDIAL," A FORMULATION WHICH SHOWS THAT DIFFERENCES AROSE AND WHICH IS LESS WARM THAN "COMRADELY," THE USUAL TERM DESCRIBING TALKS WITH ORTHODOX PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, IN A CLEAR GESTURE TOWARDS THE PCI ON JULY 6 PRAVDA DEVOTED ITS COMMENTATOR'S COLUMN TO A FAVORABLE DESCRIPTION OF THE AGREEMENT ON A GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAM BETWEEN SIX ITALIAN POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PCI. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE SOVIET RECOGNITION IN NV THAT THE NATIONAL PARTIES MUST BE ALLOWED SOME FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR TACTICS AND STRATEGY BASED ON PARTICULAR NATIONAL CONDITIONS.

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 09878 01 OF 02 091512Z

5. B. PONOMAREV, CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBER, IN PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM (NO. 7), WHICH APPEARED JULY 6, WROTE ON THE NEED FOR COOPERATION AND "COHESION" AMONG THE PARTIES. PONOMAREV'S THEME IS THAT ALTHOUGH "COMMUNIST PARTIES HOLD DIFFERENT VIEWS ON CERTAIN SPECIFIC POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS," IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY NOT PERMIT DIVISIONS TO COME BETWEEN THEM, PARTICULARLY SPLITS OF "CPS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FROM CPS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 09878 02 OF 02 091532Z
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R 091450Z JUL 77
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 9878

6. FINALLY, NV CARRIED AN EDITORIAL JULY 8 (TASS ENGLISH SUMMARIZED IT IN ADVANCE OF PUBLICATION JULY 6) WHICH DEFENDED ITS ATTACK ON CARRILLO, BLAMING HIM FOR THE DISPUTE AND INSISTED ON THE CORRECTNESS OF THE SOVIET POSITION. IN DOING THIS THE UNSIGNED PIECE STRESSES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ADHERING TO "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY," AND ARE NOT IN ANY WAY ATTACKING ANOTHER COMMUNIST PARTY.

7. COMMENT: CLEARLY THE DISPUTE OVER EUROCOMMUNISM IS FAR FROM OVER, AND THE CPSU IS BACKING DOWN ON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 09878 02 OF 02 091532Z

NONE OF THE ARGUMENTS IT MADE AGAINST CARRILLO. INSTEAD, IT APPEARS THAT, HAVING MADE THEIR BASIC POINTS, THE SOVIETS ARE FOR NOW CONTENT WITH REPEATING THEM IN Milder PROSE, WHILE THE FUROR DIES DOWN SOMEWHAT.

8. WE ARE NOT CONVINCED, AS THE CPI DELEGATION APPEARS TO BE (REFTEL A), THAT THE PRESENT LACK OF FOLLOW-UP POLEMICS BY THE SOVIETS INDICATES EITHER A SUDDEN SOVIET BACKDOWN FROM CONFRONTATION WITH THE EUROCOMMUNISTS, OR A SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN THEIR POSITION. RATHER, IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT WISH A SHOWDOWN NOW AND FOR THIS REASON THEY CAREFULLY FOCUSED THEIR NV ATACK ON CARRILLO, THE WEAKEST, MOST VULNERABLE AND MOST EXTREME OF THE SIGNIFICANT EUROCOMMUNIST LEADERS, ONE WHOM THE SPANISH ELECTIONS DEMONSTRATED WAS FAR FROM TAKING PART IN ANY GOVERNMENT COALITION.

9. THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN THEIR "WARNING," TO USE CPI DELEGATION'S TERM (REFTEL A), AND HAVE, AS FEDOROV SHOWED, LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE PROTESTS WHICH, IN GENERAL TERMS, THEY MUST HAVE KNOWN WOULD OCCUR. IT IS ALSO LIKELY THAT THE CPSU LEADERS ARE LYING BACK TO SEE THE DIFFERENT REACTIONS BY THE DIFFERENT

PARTIES. THE ITALIANS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE PRIVATELY CRITICIZED CARRILLO EVEN WHILE PUBLICALLY SUPPORTING HIM; AND THE SOVIETS ARE PAST MASTERS AT DRIVING WEDGES INTO CRACKS EVEN SMALLER THAN THOSE WHICH HAVE SHOWN AMONG THE WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES. THIS WILL TAKE TIME, OF COURSE, BUT ONE OF THE SOVIET GOALS IN THIS EXERCISE IS TO SHOW, AS THEY SAID IN THE FIRST NV PIECE, THAT THERE IS NO UNITARY EUROCOMMUNISM.

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 09878 02 OF 02 091532Z

10. THE REASSURANCE THAT THE NV ATTACK WAS DIRECTED ONLY AT CARRILLO, SHOULD GIVE NO SOLACE TO THE ITALIAN OR FRENCH PARTIES SINCE THE "WARNING" IS CLEAR IN ANY CASE: PROCEED WITH CAUTION, DANGEROUS ROAD AHEAD. THE ATTACK ON CARRILLO SPELLED OUT FOR FRENCH, ITALIAN AND OTHER COMMUNISTS WHERE THE LINE WILL BE DRAWN. POLICIES WHICH THE SOVIETS INTERPRET AS "ANTI-SOVIET," "SPLITTING" EAST AND WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES OR SUPPORTING NATO ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW. ALTHOUGH THE ITALIANS AND FRENCH MAY NOT HAVE GONE AS FAR AS CARILLO IN THESE AREAS, THEY HAVE SAID ENOUGH TO BE POSSIBLE OBJECTS OF FUTURE SOVIET WRATH.

11. THE SOVIETS HAVE CLEVERLY POSITIONED THEMSELVES IN THIS DISPUTE SO THEY CAN POUND AWAY AT CARRILLO IF THEY WISH AND STILL CLAIM PUBLICLY THAT THEY ARE NOT GUILTY OF ATTACKING ANOTHER PARTY. FROM THIS DEFENSIVE POSITION THEY WILL BE ABLE TO EXPLOIT DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY DEVELOP AMONG THE WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES AND, AT THE SAME TIME, CONTINUE TO "WARN" THE OTHER PARTIES ABOUT FOLLOWING CARRILLO.

12. AS TO WHAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED TO GAIN INSIDE THE PCE BY ATTACKING CARRILLO (MADRID 4849), IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY AT THIS POINT. THEY PROBABLY KNEW OF CARRILLO'S STRONG HOLD WITHIN THE PARTY, BUT NEVERTHELESS, WERE HOPING FOR SOME DEFECTIONS. IF SO, THEY APPEAR NOT TO HAVE SUCCEEDED. BUT WE TEND TO THINK THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE, AS EMBASSY MADRID SUGGESTED, A MUCH LARGER AUDIENCE IN MIND THAT JUST THE PCE. THE TEMPORARY SACRIFICE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH A PARTY AS FAR FROM POWER AS THE PCE MAY HAVE BEEN THE PRICE THE CPSU HAD TO PAY TO GET THE MESSAGE TO THE PCI AND THE PCF BEFORE THEY ENTER GOVERNMENT COALITBBNS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 09878 02 OF 02 091532Z

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Message Attributes

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